

SECURITY AND SURVEILLANCE HISTORY SERIES

Working Documents:

Ballpoint Pen Marginalia, 1930s Police Files and Security Intelligence Practices

On 12 July 1933, John Hayes, an Auckland detective, attended a meeting at the Auckland Town Hall protesting unemployment policy. The next day he typed a report about that meeting and signed his name. Seventy-eight years later that report was released to Archives New Zealand. In that time, 17 additional marks were made on the report: other people signed it, names were ticked, the page was numbered and file markers were added (figure 1).¹ Hayes' report was a working document for decades, the many notations demonstrating how much the document had been used. Careful study of these notations over the life of such documents can shed light on political surveillance practice and policy.

SECRET. 376 (P) 26/90
NEW ZEALAND POLICE. 26/90
Police Station Detective Office, Auckland.
Date: 13th July 1933.
REPORT of John Hayes, Detective, No. 2946.
relative to Auckland Womens' One Big Union, Protest Meeting
in the Town Hall at 8 p.m. on the 12th July 1933.
"Vide attached"

I respectfully report that in company with Detective Moore I attended the above named meeting.

The meeting commenced about 8 p.m. and concluded at 10-20 p.m. Approximately 400 men and women were present.

Mrs A.M. Cassie occupied the chair and announced the following speakers.

Miss Whittaker, Member of above named Union.
Mrs Young, Widow
Mrs A.M. Cassie, Hon. Secretary.
Mr. E.J.E. Allen.
Gordon Henry Dale.
Mr Glyfield.
Mr. J. Clancy, Hawkes Bay Representative.
Rev. Chappell.

The speakers spoke in the order above named. The meeting was conducted in a very orderly manner, and there were no seditious utterances by any of the said speakers.

The meeting was held to protest against married and single men being sent to camps and all speeches were outlined on this subject.

Most of the speakers impressed upon the audience that in order to prevent the men going into camps the women would have to organize and assist the men in their fight against going to camps.

At the conclusion of the meeting a resolution was passed that they would resist the Government in sending married or single men to Relief Camps. The resolution was passed unanimously... A further resolution was passed that they had no confidence in the Unemployment Board... This resolution was also carried.

Chief Detective,
Auckland.

Det. Hayes
Detective No. 2946.
Det. Halder
In your information
Ch. Det.
hoted
handed
Det. No. 1374
13.7.33.
Forward to the Commissioner
J. T. Hill
13/7/33
For your information
Ch. Det.
Ch. Det.

Figure 1 Report by Detective John Hayes with 17 subsequent marks.²

This article focuses on the ballpoint pen marginalia created by the New Zealand Security Service (NZSS) on former New Zealand Police Force files.³ In the 1930s, when Hayes typed his report, political surveillance and counter-subversion was the responsibility of the police. In 1956, when the NZSS was formed, his report was transferred to the new agency. The use of both nib pens and pencils, and the newer technology of ballpoint pens, on pre-existing files provides evidence of how documents created in one era were re-employed in another. This is significant as it is difficult to find substantial information about the operations of the NZSS, to whose files (and that of its successor, the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service, or NZSIS) historians do not have access. At time of writing, the NZSIS has released 172 files to Archives New Zealand, all of them opened by the Police Force before the formation of the NZSS; 24 of them contain any material created by the NZSS and its successor.

Hayes' report is contained in part 6/2 of the files series called 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement'. The Unemployed Workers' Movement (UWM) was a depression-era national organisation that demanded both work and government assistance for the unemployed.⁴ The title of the file is slightly misleading because, while the UWM was formed in 1931, the file's dates range from 1921-1939. The series is actually a catch-all for police documents about organising and protest among the unemployed. Each of the thirteen files in the series contains reports, newspaper clippings, memos and confiscated documents, all written or collected by police officers. These files make an excellent case study for NZSS marginalia, because of the number of files, which contain many documents for every year in the 1930s, before the era of ballpoint pens.

The released UWM files contain four different types of ballpoint pen marginalia: page numbers, notations by individuals' names, 'card deleted' annotations and other file markings. This article focuses on the first three. While the UWM files have been analysed, other files released by the NZSIS have been consulted to provide context. All the types of marginalia discussed here were also used systematically by the NZSS/NZSIS in other files.⁵

Marginalia and UWM files

Police reports about the UWM were working documents, containing marginalia added soon after the documents were written, notes made immediately prior to release some eighty years later, and points between. Marginalia from the 1930s reveal actions that the police took, or intended to take, as a result of reports. Many police reports were signed and dated by multiple police officers, with notes about each report's distribution next to the signatures.⁶ Documents were also marked in blue pencil, and these markings indicated that investigation and/or follow up was needed. For example, in September 1931 a police officer clipped a newspaper article from *The Dominion* that reported on a resolution to hold a demonstration at the Wellington Hospital Board. The clipping was marked in the margins with blue pencil and at the bottom there was a handwritten note: 'Can you obtain any definite information in respect to the proposed demonstration'.⁷ Blue pencil was used, among other things, to indicate evidence that might assist prosecutions – after a crowd had been blocking a road, for example.⁸

The most recent pieces of marginalia in UWM files were created just before they were released to Archives New Zealand. When the NZSIS archivist redacted certain details – particularly those relating to informants – he replaced the material with an asterisk, placed a sticker explaining the omission in the margin, photocopied the entire document and substituted the photocopy for the original on the file.⁹ For examples of marginalia soon after creation of the documents, and immediately preceding their release, see figure 2. Its creators are clearly identifiable: police officers for the earliest and the NZSIS archivist for the latest.

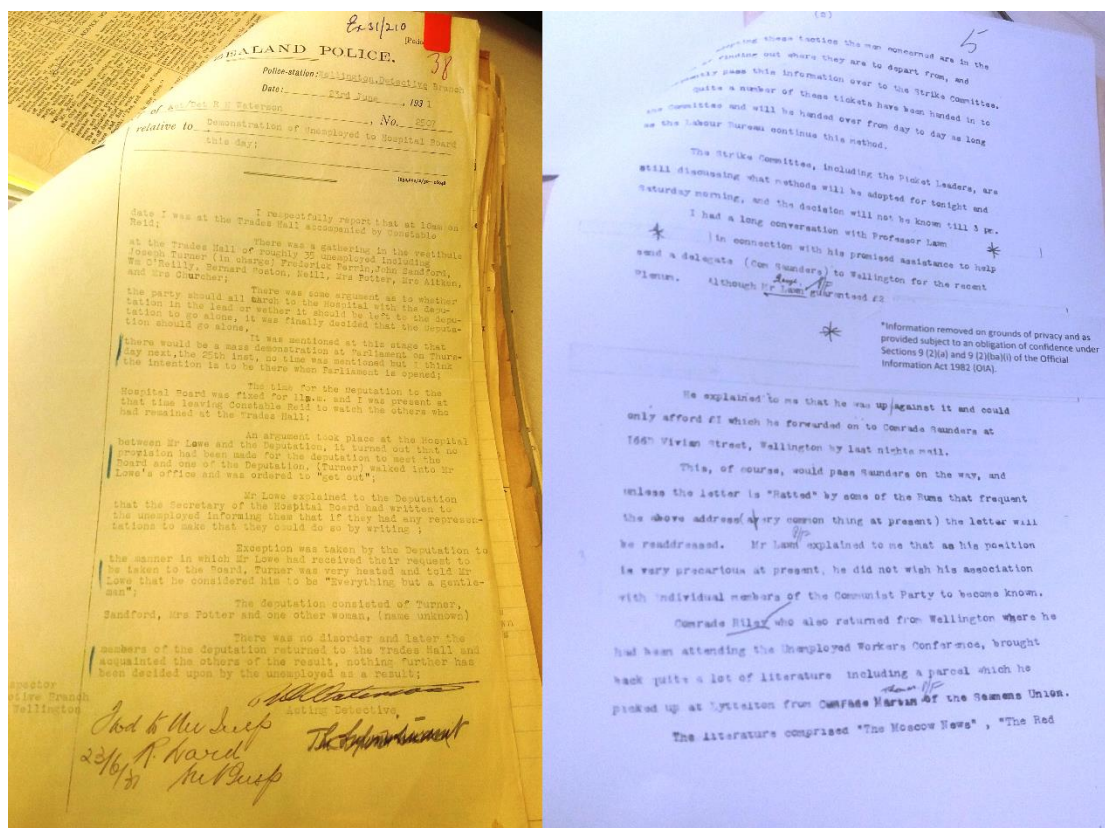


Figure 2 Examples of the earliest and latest forms of marginalia in the UWM files.¹⁰

In the UWM files, the marginalia written soon after the documents were created was written in nib pen, but the 1940s and 1950s were a time of change in writing technology and this can be traced at a time of bureaucratic change in New Zealand's political surveillance. Until 1940, the New Zealand Police Force ran counter-subversion activities, and the Police Commissioner took an active role in directing investigations into the UWM.¹¹ A new Security Intelligence Bureau (SIB) was set up to deal with wartime security in 1940 but after its legitimacy was fatally compromised by fallout from the 'Syd Ross Affair', in which the Bureau was duped by a hoax fabricated by a professional conman,¹² the police resumed the security intelligence mandate. In 1949 a new section within the Police Force, the Special Branch, took responsibility for covert surveillance, and collated files relating to security matters.¹³ In 1956, the NZSS was established on a model similar to that of the British MI5 or the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, and it inherited the police's Special Branch files, inheriting the Special Branch files.¹⁴

Historians have not paid much attention to ballpoint pens,¹⁵ and their social and cultural history has yet to be written, although histories of writing techniques and technology usually contain a short section on them.¹⁶ Ballpoint pens were increasingly used after a functioning version was produced in the 1940s (well after their original patenting in the nineteenth century) and their distribution was accelerated by their uptake by the United States military.¹⁷ The biro ballpoint pen was being advertised in New Zealand soon after the War, and the Bic company started selling ballpoint pens in New Zealand in 1957.¹⁸ For most of the 1950s, police rarely used ballpoint pens on their files, and these appeared to belong to individuals, especially those of higher rank, such as the Deputy Commissioner of Police who was consistently signing his name with a ballpoint pen as early as 1952.¹⁹

Systematic ballpoint pen marginalia came only after the 1956 formation of the NZSS, and even by 1957 only a few – such as Senior Detective A. Grant from Christchurch – were doing so.²⁰ Undated ballpoint pen marks on the Special Branch files, then, were most likely made by NZSS officers (and perhaps, later by NZSIS officers). The advent of systematic ballpoint pen marginalia, in fact, seemingly came about as an institutional decision once they were widely available, although nib pens were still common well into the 1960s.²¹

The difference in pressure and application required between the two types of pen can provide a reliable method of distinguishing between marks. Figure 1 provides an example of the two writing tools. Here the signatures were made with ink pen, the markings fluid, wide and in a distinct colour widely used by the police in the 1930s, while the notes in the top corner were made with ballpoint pen – thinner, less joined up and in a wider variety of colours. While not all ballpoint and nib pen markings are so distinct, especially when similar ink was used, examining the back of an original document can resolve the issue: the extra pressure required to make a ballpoint pen marking can either be observed or felt on its reverse.

Numbered Pages

Most pages in UWM files had been numbered in red ballpoint pen in the top right corner of the document (see figure 3), with the lowest numbered document physically located at the back of the file. This renumbering was presumably done by the NZSS soon after taking over the Special Branch files, at a time when ballpoint writing was becoming more common. A clue to the latest timeframe for such numbering can be found by looking at the 1934 UWM file, where pages 222-230 had numbers written in the corner in blue rather than red ballpoint pen. A note stating that the documents were dog-eared, and had been retyped and renumbered, was dated 23 January 1964.²²



Figure 3 Red ballpoint page numbering in upper right hand corner.²³

The order of pages within the UWM files had sometimes been altered since an NZSS officer had numbered them in red ballpoint pen, and in each file there were unnumbered pages, pages that had got out of order and pages that were missing. For example, in the file for 1931-1932, the first pages were numbered from four to seven, followed by 31, and then 40-42; after this it began again at page 8 (figure 4).²⁴ Later in the file a whole set of documents about prosecuting two men for criminal libel were not numbered at all.²⁵

The files that were released to Archives New Zealand, then, were not identical to the files that were created in the 1930s, collated by the Special Branch and numbered by the NZSS, but rather a reconstitution of the files that took place sometime after the original page numbering exercise.

The reordering, then, showed an active engagement with the files for decades after they were created, even though many of the demands of the UWM of the 1930s had become government policy by the 1960s.²⁶ While the reasons for their rearrangements through time could not be deduced, the paginations reveal the degree to which the files had been altered, reflecting the security service engagement with organising past history considered to have present relevance.

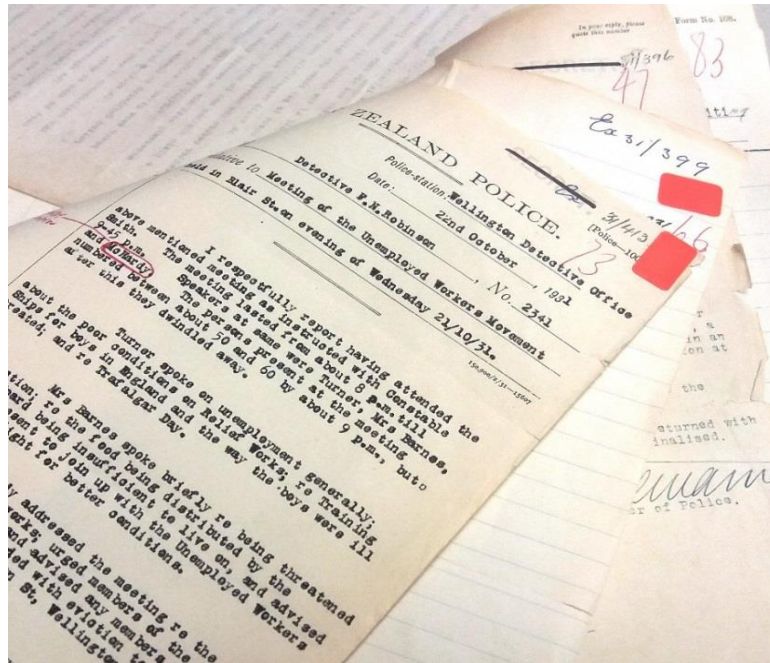


Figure 4 Numbered pages that are now in a different order.²⁷

Ticks, Crosses, Underlings and Initialling

Most of the blue ballpoint pen marginalia in the UWM files refers to the names of suspected or actual radicals or activists mentioned in police reports or newspaper articles. These names were ticked, crossed, underlined or had initials added (figures 5 and 6) and while not all documents had such markings, they were common enough throughout the UWM files to show that the security service systematically examined them decades later for information about individuals. Similar annotations were made on other files transferred from the Special Branch, and an extensive cross referencing system was built up.

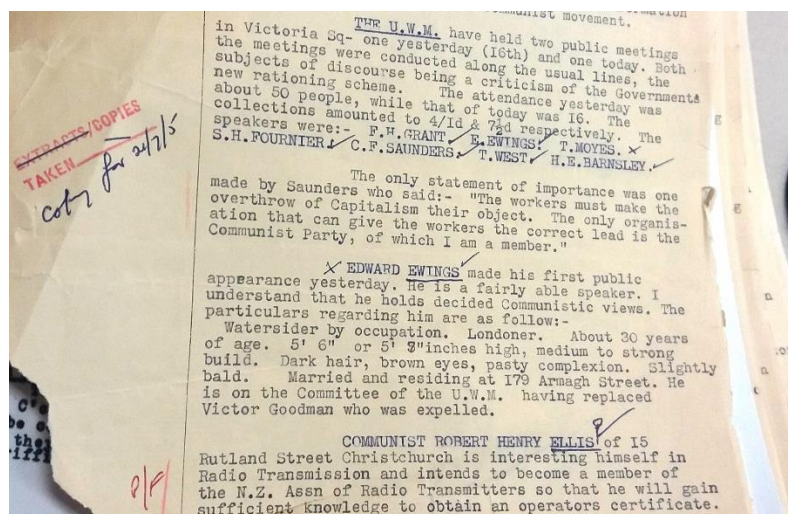


Figure 5 Names in police reports were marked in ballpoint pen.²⁸

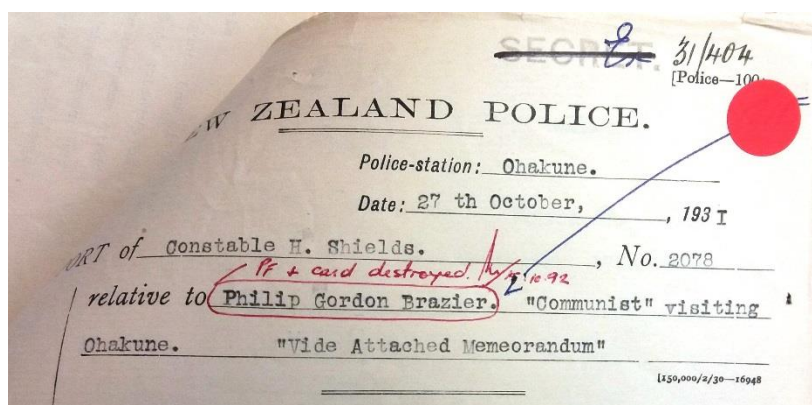


Figure 8 An example of the dated notes indicating material was deleted.⁴⁴

Each card deletion was carefully cross-referenced on the files mentioned on the card, at most mentions of the name, suggesting that personal cards contained detailed references to the files that an individual was mentioned in. William Wilkinson's card deletion, for example, was noted 20 times in one file.⁴⁵ In many cases, such cross referencing must have involved long hours of work. The deletions mentioned in the UWM files covered the period 1979 to 1993; two were deleted in 1980, and thirteen the following year, for example, and other years that had more than ten deletions were. There were two peaks when over ten deletions per annum were noted in the UWM files, 1983-1986 and 1991. One can assume that card deletion was influenced by such factors as other NZSIS work, the political climate its officers were operating in, the time required for the work, and the deaths of the subjects (although previously cards had not been destroyed at the time of the subjects' death). In a 1931 report, Detective Laugesen had noted that H. Dodge, who he described as 'Communist Dodge', was ill in hospital. Marginalia on this report included the information that Dodge had died in January 1935, but his card was not destroyed until May 1985.⁴⁶

Clearly there were deletions before the systematic deletions on the UWM 1979, but this research has identified just two. Wilhem Turowski's card was destroyed on 24 April 1971. In 1951, the police had investigated the sale of his printing press during the waterfront dispute, and had not turned up any evidence that he was involved in producing illegal literature. The report from the police investigation stated he was not previously known to the police, and therefore his card had been created as a result of the investigation into this sale.⁴⁷ Given the police's low level of interest in him, and the absence of evidence of any participation in any activities that might be deemed subversive, his deletion was rather different from later deletions that involved, among others, activists and communists.

So too was the case of Clyde Carr, whose card was destroyed in 1974.⁴⁸ Carr was a Labour Party Member of Parliament from 1928, and the police had noted in his file details of work he had done while he was an MP; he had died in 1962, and the destruction of his file may have had a connection with the fact that Labour was in office at the time.

A policy change in 1979 seems the best explanation for the later regular deletion of files, with the age of the files of no seeming relevance given that there was no significant difference in the pattern of deletion dates between the UWM files and later files created during the 1951 Waterfront Dispute. There were no notations of any UWM cards deleted after 1993, although they were not transferred to Archives New Zealand until 2015. The lack of later marginalia was more likely the result of the end of noting card deletions, than the end of deletions themselves. Perhaps in the mid-1990s, as the implications of the end of the Cold War became clearer, carefully noting card deletions in sixty year old files that had concentrated on identifying activists and communists was unnecessary. However, the expansion of computing technology may also have induced changes in NZSIS practice, making cross-referencing far easier than ballpoint pen notations on paper files.

Conclusion

After the NZSS was established, the UWM files became part of a larger system of paperwork that organised the service's knowledge about alleged subversives. Information about individuals in the UWM files was transferred to card and personal files, and the ticks on the files are remnants of that process. After it was founded, the NZSS systematically examined transferred police files to better access details about individuals who had been of interest in the past, and later the NZSIS stopped tracking some of these individuals. Both this expansion and retraction of surveillance can be traced through markings on police files, marginalia all the more important because so little material from is accessible to historians.

The files that have been declassified and made available to the public are only a fragment of a larger system of knowledge in which the links between different documents were central to security officers' ability to better utilise the results of past surveillance, their ballpoint pens making and later breaking connections between different documents and files. Whereas nib pens provided a continuous flow of ink and did not easily lend themselves to making discrete marks such as ticks and crosses, ballpoint pens allowed tidy marks that were more permanent than pencil markings. As a relatively small technological development, ballpoint pens get lost among other recording innovations of the twentieth century, and deserve more attention than they have received.

The officers of the NZSIS might be said, in a sense, to be historians deeply interested in the UWM. Surveillance is among other things a memory project, and the NZSS/NZSIS was as dedicated a rememberer of the 1930s as Tony Simpson's *The Sugarbag Years* or households which kept a picture of Michael Joseph Savage on the wall.⁴⁹ In keeping track of individuals from the past, and ordering and reordering files to present different ways of monitoring the past, they used the past for present purposes. But while historians often focus on memory as a public practice, remembering is a private practice for security personnel, their files literally having 'secret' stamped across many of their pages. It is this private memory – which is unaccountable to the people surveilled – that gives the NZSIS and its predecessors their power. Keeping, containing and controlling information about the past was and remains a weapon of the state.

The police reports about UWM were working documents for decades; they did not retire until NZSIS released the files to Archives New Zealand in the twenty-first century. Marginalia on the documents show many layers of use by both the Police and the NZSIS, adding to our understanding of surveillance history. Surveillance involves the collecting, cross-referencing, analysing and accessing of information after it has been collected, activities which leave marks and make the working histories of documents visible.

Grace Millar
Victoria University of Wellington

Appendix 1: Summary of Marginalia on documents in UWM files

Marginalia Type	Implement	Frequency	Date
Notes from police officers about the dissemination of a report.	Nib pen.	Frequent.	Shortly after each document was created.
Notes for further action in margin.	Blue pencil.	Frequent.	Shortly after each document was created.
Page Numbers.	Red ballpoint pen.	Almost all pages.	Later 1950s to early 1960s.
Ticks and crosses by names.	Blue ballpoint pen.	Frequent.	After 1956.
File notations.	Blue ballpoint pen	Almost all pages.	After 1956.
Notes about copies made.	Stamp and ball point pen	Not common.	Sometimes dated, but usually not; from the late 1950s onwards.
‘Card Destroyed’ notations.	Red ball point pen.	108.	Individually dated between 1979 and 1993.
Amendments to file notations such as crossing out ‘Secret’.	Black felt.	Frequent	Before the document was declassified.
Redacting material, usually relating to confidential informants,	Photocopy, sticker and ballpoint pen	Not Common.	Before the document was declassified.

- ¹ Archives New Zealand (ANZ), R24716787-ADMO-21007-W5985-5-26/8/90-6/2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement 1932-1933', Report of John Hayes Detective relative to Auckland Women's One Big Union, Protest in the Town Hall at 8p.m. on the 12th July 1933, Detective Office, Auckland, 13 July 1933.
- ² ANZ, R24716787-ADMO-21007-W5985-5-26/8/90-6/2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement 1932-1933', Report of John Hayes Detective relative to Auckland Women's One Big Union, Protest in the Town Hall at 8p.m. on the 12th July 1933, Detective Office, Auckland, 13 July 1933.
- ³ This was renamed the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (NZSIS) in 1969.
- ⁴ Paul Harris, 'The New Zealand Unemployed Workers' Movement, 1931-1939: Gisborne and the Reliefs Workers' Strike', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 10:2, (October 1976), p.131.
- ⁵ For an example see ANZ, R25087993-ADMO-21007-W6029-2-26/8/24-1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Howard League for Penal Reform & Committees for the Abolition of the Death Penalty'.
- ⁶ For example see ANZ-R24716781-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Constable F. W. Lefort relative to hand bills being distributing ... re Mass meeting of unemployed at Trades Hall on 20th, Inst, Mount Cook, 18 June 1931.
- ⁷ ANZ, R24716781-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', newspaper Clipping of *Dominion* article 'Workers' Movement Four Officers Resign', 19 September 1931.
- ⁸ ANZ, R24716781-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', report of Sergeant Duncan Wilson relative to Unemployed Workers Movement and Communists parties holding a street procession and speaking from steps of Town Hall, whereby other persons were caused to congregate and cause an obstruction to persons passing therein; contrary to the Wellington City Council Bylaw No.1. part.1. section 14, clause 54, Mount Cook, 3 August 1931.
- ⁹ ANZ, R24716781-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Detective P. J. Nalder relative to reports of * attached, Detective Office, Auckland, 15 July 1931.
- ¹⁰ ANZ, R24716781-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Acting Detective R.H. Waterson relative to Demonstration of Unemployed to Hospital Board this day; Wellington Detective Branch, 23 June 1931; ANZ, R24716784-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-4, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of * relative to Activities of the Communist Party Waimakariri Strikes, Unemployed Workers Movement, Christchurch, 1 April 1931.
- ¹¹ Graeme Dunstall, *A Policeman's Paradise?: Policing a Stable Society, 1918-1945* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1999), p.266. For an example of the Commissioner's role see ANZ, R24716781-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Memo from Commissioner of Police to the Superintendent of Police, Dunedin, "International Day Against War" – Proposed Communist Demonstration on 1st proximo Dunedin", 28 July 1931; Memo from Commissioner Police to Inspector of Police, Napier, 'Communists John Sandford and William Turner', 4 August 1931.
- ¹² Miriam L. Wharton, 'The Development of Security Intelligence in New Zealand, 1945-1957' (Master of Defence Studies, Massey University, 2012), pp.14-16.
- ¹³ Wharton, pp.61-81.
- ¹⁴ The NZSIS was founded as the New Zealand Security Service and, by 1969, renamed to the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service. Some references to the NZSIS are therefore anachronistic.
- ¹⁵ A search of History and Library Science journals on JSTOR for the word ballpoint returned just 131 results. More than ninety percent of which only mentioned ballpoint pens once and did not make a substantive point about them, and one article contained an account of a murder committed with a ballpoint pen Roland Bal, 'How to Kill with a Ballpoint: Credibility in Dutch Forensic Science', *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 30:1 (2005), pp.52-75.
- ¹⁶ Maygene Daniels, 'The Ingenious Pen: American Writing Implements from the Eighteenth Century to the Twentieth', *The American Archivist*, 43:3 (1980), pp.312-324; Michelle P. Brown, *The British Library Guide to Writing and Scripts History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Nickell.
- ¹⁷ Joe Nickell, *Pen, Ink & Evidence: A Study of Writing and Writing Materials for the Penman, Collector, and Document Detective* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1990), p.22.
- ¹⁸ *Alexandra Herald and Central Otago Gazette*, 24 December 1947, p.7; 'Bic History', November 2014, https://www.bicworld.com/files/pdfs/BIC%20history-booklet-EN_NOV14.pdf, p. 3, accessed 30 October 2016.
- ¹⁹ ANZ, R25087988-ADMO-W6029-21007-2-26/8/6-1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: NZ Council for Civil Liberties', Report of Detective Sergeant J.W. Pullman relative to NZ Council for Civil Liberties, Special Branch, Wellington, 28 June 1955.
- ²⁰ ANZ, R25087988-ADMO-W6029-21007-2-26/8/6-1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: NZ Council for Civil Liberties', Report of Senior Detective A.R. Grant, relative to Canterbury Council for Civil Liberties – Election of Officers for 1957, 8 May 1957.
- ²¹ See ANZ, R25087987-ADMO-W6029-21007-1-26/5/7-1, 'Educational Institutions Etc: Victoria University: Socialist Club'.
- ²² ANZ, R24716789-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-8, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Workers' Charter of Demands, retyped, 1934.

- ²³ ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Detective N.W. Laugesen relative to Activities of the Communist Party, Christchurch, 18 January 1932.
- ²⁴ ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement'.
- ²⁵ For example, ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Labour Defence League, 'War' [1931].
- ²⁶ Malcolm McKinnon, *The Broken Decade: Prosperity, Depression and Recovery in New Zealand, 1928-39* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), pp.370-377.
- ²⁷ ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement'.
- ²⁸ ANZ, R24716785-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of N.W. Laugesen relative to Communist Activities, Christchurch, 17 July 1932.
- ²⁹ ANZ, R24716783-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', [List of UWM Branch Secretaries 1931-1932].
- ³⁰ Dunstall, p.266.
- ³¹ Their own notes about the destruction of these documents, discussed in the next section, make clear the distinction, see ANZ, R24716780-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-1A, 'Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Detective N.W. Baylis relative to meeting of the unemployed held in the Trades and Labour Hall 3-5-29 and deputation to Prime Minister 3-5-29, 4 May 1929, Detective Office Wellington Trades and Labour Hall 3-5-29 and deputation to Prime Minister 3-5-29, 4 May 1929, Detective Office Wellington, Miscellaneous Organisations.
- ³² Alongside Bollinger's file I have examined, as part of this research, the released, redacted file of Wolfgang Rosenberg, in William Rosenberg's possession.
- ³³ 'CONRAD VICKERS IRVING BOLLINGER', [1957] Conrad Vickers Bollinger, copy of NZSIS File, in Richard Hill's possession.
- ³⁴ ANZ, R25087987-ADMO-W6029-21007-1-26/5/7-1, 'Educational Institutions Etc: Victoria University: Socialist Club', Report of Detective Sergeant Paterson relative to report of 'C.1' – 19 November, 1952, 10 December 1952, Special Branch Wellington.
- ³⁵ 'CONRAD VICKERS IRVING BOLLINGER', [1957] Conrad Vickers Bollinger, copy of NZSIS File, in Richard Hill's possession; ANZ, R24881823-ADMO-W6010-21007-1-21/5/4-1, 'Communist Party NZ, Wellington, Social Functions 1934-1961'; ANZ, R24716794-ADMO-W5985-21007-7-26/17/4-1, 'Society for Closer Relations with Russia, National Security 1941-1953'; ANZ, R25087997-ADMO-W6029-21007-3-33/1/15/1-4, 'Peace Organisations: NZ Peace Council: Anti Conscription, 1950-1962'.
- ³⁶ Wharton, p.110.
- ³⁷ ANZ, R24716781-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Constable F. W. Lefort relative to Communist Demonstration in Vivian St, Mt Cook, 4 March 1931.
- ³⁸ Almost every report of a meeting mentioned speakers. For example ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Constable W. Cook relative to unemployed meeting held in the old Railway Station site on the afternoon of the 11/10/31, Queen's Wharf, 12 October 1931.
- ³⁹ ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of informant * 15 January 1932.
- ⁴⁰ ANZ, R24716789-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-8, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Detective P.J. Nalder relative to Meeting in Western Park on Sunday afternoon, 24 February 1935.
- ⁴¹ ANZ, R24716789-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-8, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Detective P.J. Nalder relative to Meeting in Western Park on Sunday afternoon, 24 February 1935.
- ⁴² ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Detective N.W. Laugesen, relative to activities of the Communist Party and the Unemployed Workers Movement, 5 November 1931.
- ⁴³ ANZ, R24716780-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-1A, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Detective N.W. Baylis relative to meeting of the unemployed held in the Trades and Labour Hall 3-5-29 and deputation to Prime Minister, 4 May 1929.
- ⁴⁴ ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Constable H. Shields relative to Philip Gordon Brazier. "Communist" visiting Oakum, Ohakune, 27 October 1931.
- ⁴⁵ ANZ, R24716788-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-7, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement'.
- ⁴⁶ ANZ, R24716782-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-3/1, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Report of Detective N.W. Laugesen relative to activities of the Communist Party and the Unemployed Workers Movement, Christchurch, 5 November 1931.
- ⁴⁷ ANZ, R24716781-ADMO-W5985-21007-3-26/8/90-2, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Bruce Young, Commissioner of Police, to the Superintendent of Police, Wellington, Memorandum, 10 May 1951.

⁴⁸ ANZ, R24716785-ADMO-W5985-21007-5-26/8/90-5, 'Miscellaneous Organisations: Unemployed Workers' Movement', Inspector of Police to Detective Studholme Unemployed Workers addressed by Rev. Clyde Carr, M.P, 14 October 1932.

⁴⁹ Tony Simpson, *The Sugarbag Years: A People's History of the 1930s Depression in New Zealand* (Wellington: A Taylor, 1974).